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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 20 November 1990, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji)
(Vice-President)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [18] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

  (b) Report of the Secretary-General

  (c) Draft resolutions

  (d) Draft decision

  (e) Report of the Fifth Committee

  (f) Letters from Papua New Guinea

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- Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Fourth Committee [111]

- Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa: report of the Fourth Committee [112]

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations: report of the Economic and Social Council: report of the Fourth Committee [113 and 12]

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- Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories: report of the Fourth Committee [115]

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Fourth Committee [18] (continued)

READEX FICHE

In the absence of the President, Mr. Thompson (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/45/23; A/AC.109/1015 and Corr.1, A/AC.109/1016-A/AC.109/1021, A/AC.109/1023 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/AC.109/1024-A/AC.109/1036, A/AC.109/1038, A/AC.109/1041 and Corr.1, A/AC.109/1044 and A/AC.109/1048 and Corr.1/Rev.1)

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/644 and Corr.1)

(c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/45/23 (Part II), para. 26; A/45/L.16, A/45/L.17)

(d) DRAFT DECISION (A/45/L.18)

(e) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/45/686)

(f) LETTERS FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA (A/45/723, A/45/724)

Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia): This year we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The adoption of that historic document by the General Assembly was a breakthrough in the decolonization efforts of the United Nations.

In the Declaration, which expresses unambiguously the need for the speedy eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, we find such important principles as the right of all peoples to self-determination and to independent economic, social and cultural development, and the inadmissibility of the subjugation of nations to foreign domination and exploitation and of the violation of national unity and territorial integrity.

It is a fact that after the adoption of the Declaration the process of decolonization accelerated. It is due to the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV) that the transition of former colonies to independence took a largely

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non-violent course in most cases, though often after a slow and painstaking process. The credit for this indisputably goes to the United Nations, which rightly regards the results of its efforts in the field of decolonization as one of its major achievements. However, we must not forget that it was the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories themselves who were the main factor in the smooth course of the decolonization processes, often accompanied by constructive co-operation on the part of the administering Powers.

This year's anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is not merely an opportunity to recall the successes achieved in the field of decolonization: the process has not yet been completed.

Czechoslovakia is of the opinion that size, geographical location and accessibility of natural resources cannot be used as arguments against the necessity of enabling the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, their right to decide freely on their own future. However, in many instances insufficient attention is paid to the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) which stipulate that the right to self-determination does not always have to take the form of independence, which is only one of three options available to the inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

My delegation has followed with great interest the consideration of the decolonization issues in the Fourth Committee this year, and with special interest the discussion of this item in the plenary Assembly. Our interest has been based on curiosity: we have been anxious to find out whether the new spirit in international relations, the independence of Namibia and the progress in efforts to resolve some other questions coupled, rightly or by force of habit, with the

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subject of decolonization would be reflected also in the work of the current session of the General Assembly.

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It would be premature to try to establish at this stage whether this has been the case, but it is not unreasonable to state that there is insufficient cause for jubilation. On the other hand, it is possible to say that scepticism, too, is not at present fully warranted. In other words, a breakthrough in the approach of the United Nations to the eradication of colonialism is not likely until a later time. The question is whether the year 1991 will be that later time. My delegation believes so. We are convinced that the cause of decolonization could only benefit from such a breakthrough.

There has been considerable discussion lately about the reservations of many delegations concerning the activities of the Special Committee of 24. Curiously enough, critical comments made by some delegations, including Czechoslovakia, have been a source of astonishment to some delegations. This year, for example, criticism was levelled in the Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, which is chaired by my delegation, as well as during the August plenary meetings of the Committee of 24. And there was perhaps even more astonishment during the recent deliberations in the Fourth Committee of the current session of the General Assembly. But why such bewilderment; why are some delegations astounded to hear criticism of what others do not like? Why are some delegations amazed when they hear voices calling for an improvement in the work of such bodies as the important Committee on decolonization, which was such a successful body in the past? The reason is simple. This body was successful in the past; it contributed to making decolonization a reality. Today, indeed, the Declaration on decolonization applies to only a fraction of the vast number of Territories and peoples covered by it in 1960. And obviously there is no need to change what has worked in the past. To use a sports metaphor, coaches do not usually change tactics or line-ups when the team is on a roll or when it has clinched the championship title, regardless of the matches still to be played.

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Is this the case with the Committee on decolonization? My delegation does not think so. On the one hand, the Committee of 24 - let us admit it - is not the only winner over colonialism. In the past it played a vital role, but it is not a relevant player on the team any more. On the other hand, total victory has not yet been won. The main thing is that long winning streaks delude many coaches into making bad decisions. Such coaches do not distinguish between different contenders, do not see changing external conditions and underestimate the unsteady form of individual team-mates. Scoring a point is the only thing that matters at the moment. It is hoped that other points will be scored automatically. And this is precisely the core of the matter; many further efforts will be required to score additional points. The present routine performance will no longer suffice. This is the case with the Committee on decolonization, the case with the present United Nations approach to decolonization, to the situation in southern Africa and to the Decade for decolonization. It is just routine, nothing but routine.

As a matter of fact, the individual issues, the individual small Non-Self-Governing Territories, are not being considered at all practically. All the work is concentrated on the defence of the same old-style draft resolutions against those that dare to delete an outdated provision, and all this is taking place regardless of the changes in the world. Similarly, there are the same old reports, information and background papers, containing little, if anything, new. They follow outdated formulas and are couched in stereotyped terms. In a similarly stereotyped and quite formal way the United Nations decolonization bodies continue to approve requests for hearings made by more and more petitioners, who for the most part provide stereotyped, recycled information that has little, if any, bearing on the Territories considered by the Committee of 24, and who continue to speak in the Sub-Committees, in plenary meetings of the Committee of 24, and in the

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Fourth Committee. And, unfortunately, they refer to one and the same subject as well as to everything else.

In an equally stereotyped manner most delegations repeat the same, or very similar, statements - statements consisting of declarations to which all of us invariably subscribe, yet whose constant repetition does not contribute in any way to progress.

The conclusions reached at the last session of the Committee of 24 this year are almost the same as those of the previous year. The draft resolutions proposed for adoption by the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly are outdated. They contain excessively harsh criticism, are of a confrontational nature, and do not reflect developments in the world or in the regions concerned, above all in southern Africa. They contain language long abandoned elsewhere and useless and selective name-calling of some States, and in many cases they reflect the fact that the Committee of 24 is used by some States as a platform for the presentation of their political objectives, which have little to do with the process of decolonization. Perhaps there has been enough repetition of the same texts. An initiative will always be there to save the situation - an initiative in a different body, under a different name but with the old content; an initiative even more futile, even more propaganda-oriented and even less meaningful that previous initiatives.

Let me cite as an example the latest initiative in the Special Political Committee, put forward within the framework of the item entitled "Questions relating to information". It calls for the declaration of some sort of world decolonization campaign. Who cares that we have a Special Committee dealing with decolonization or the competent Fourth Committee of the General Assembly? What does it matter that the General Assembly adopts every year a resolution on the

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dissemination of information on decolonization? Thus, what we are sure to do here is produce yet another useless and costly piece of paper.

Even if we put all this aside, we cannot fail to observe the erroneous, even harmful, philosophical premise of such draft resolutions. They are based on a philosophy that is extraneous to the positivistic approach of the United Nations.

The eradication of colonialism is a United Nations objective; it flows from the aims of the Organization as set forth in its Charter. Condemnation of phenomena that contradict the Charter is part of this philosophy - a philosophy that must be constructive, including constructive criticism of what deserves to be criticized; which must aim at the elimination of irrelevancies and seek appropriate ways, means and channels; which rests on far-sightedness and wisdom, which is the opposite of the negativistic approach designed to condemn just for the sake of condemnation and of approaches stemming from a certain political blindness. Let us wake up, open our eyes, all of us who deal with the subject of decolonization and who sincerely desire that colonialism be relegated to the history books by the year 2000.

However necessary the Czechoslovak delegation may consider it to be that the Organization continue to deal with the question of decolonization until the complete eradication of colonialism, we cannot agree with the Committee of 24's work continuing in the same outdated spirit regardless of developments in the area of decolonization. It is now more urgently necessary than ever to begin without delay to strengthen the sense of purpose of this body, which is a quite costly one for the United Nations and the Member States.

Czechoslovakia is especially in favour of a greater concentration of and a reduction in the number of sessions of the Committee of 24 and its two Sub-Committees, of the submission of a smaller package of recommendations for

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adoption by the General Assembly, and of decisions and resolutions being made more streamlined by the deletion of out-of-date and extraneous provisions. We believe that it would show a sense of purpose to cut the funds allocated for the activities of the Committee of 24 below the 1989 level, to decrease the total number of sessions of the Committee and of the Sub-Committees, to limit the number of documents, to limit the participation of petitioners to representatives of Non-Self-Governing Territories, and to put curbs on the funds provided for these purposes.

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At the same time we believe that before long the General Assembly itself will have to modify the Fourth Committee's mission. In the past it was proposed that the Fourth Committee and the Special Political Committee should be merged. While this proposal may be premature so far as the immediate future is concerned, it would be short-sighted to reject it flatly. In contrast, what we can do now, for instance, is consider whether to transfer to the Fourth Committee some questions now habitually considered by other bodies - even by the General Assembly itself at plenary meetings - thus using the resources of the United Nations more effectively.

My delegation has stated several times that Czechoslovakia stands for full observance of the Declaration on decolonization, for completion of the decolonization process. We think that it is important to recall that fact, precisely in the context of what has just been said. What my delegation has in mind specifically is that the United Nations should approach the eradication of the remnants of colonialism in a fundamentally new way emanating from the spirit of our times. We have attempted to outline our considerations at least briefly to all delegations that are interested.

Mrs. TAHIR-KHELI (United States of America): While United Nations efforts in the field of decolonization have achieved important successes in the past 30 years, these efforts are at a clear crossroads. They can move forward by bringing the decolonization field into the United Nations of the 1990s, or they can stand still. But developments in the field of decolonization are so significant that standing still means losing ground.

As an example of the rapid pace at which decolonization is occurring, we need only look at 1990 and the long-overdue and welcome independence of Namibia, and at 1991 when, all Member States hope, the United Nations will be able to oversee a referendum in Western Sahara to resolve the dispute over the status of that

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Territory. Most of the remaining Territories for which the United Nations bears some responsibility are small island Territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean. While these Territories are small in population and land mass, they remain key responsibilities for both the administering Powers and the United Nations system, which seek to promote their political, economic and social development. The United States, as an administering Power, remains conscious of its role with regard to its three Territories and will continue to meet its responsibilities to those Territories under the United Nations Charter.

The United States believes it is necessary to draw attention in this Hall to the failure of the United Nations institutional machinery to keep pace with the decolonization process. We have already expressed in the Fourth Committee our disappointment and dissatisfaction at this year's draft resolutions prepared by the Special Committee. Briefly stated, the position is that the texts of these draft resolutions consist of language recycled from previous years. In one draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies, the Special Committee went so far as to forward, although with considerable dissent, language that reinstitutes the name-calling practice of the past.

A further problem with these draft resolutions is that they devote an extraordinary amount of attention and text to the issue of apartheid. We share abhorrence of the system of apartheid, but we feel strongly that if resolutions of this body are to have international credibility they need to be germane to the subject at hand.

Perhaps the greatest regret we have regarding these draft resolutions is that they offer no new ideas or proposals for development of the Territories, despite the fact that the Special Committee held two regional seminars - one in Vanuatu and one in Barbados - this year, at which forward-looking ideas for the Territories were discussed.

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Throughout the Fourth Committee session we heard calls for reform of the United Nations efforts in the field of decolonization. The call for reform ranged from rather limited to far-reaching matters. I should like to raise here some of these suggestions for reform of the Organization, to illustrate the kinds of new directions that the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee need to examine.

First, regarding the draft resolutions on decolonization, many delegations pointed out that they are duplicative, repetitive and stale. Some delegations urged that next year an omnibus draft resolution be prepared to take care of the concerns of many of the small Territories. Other delegations urged that the draft resolution should deal only with current decolonization matters and should abandon old issues. Some even stated informally that if the Special Committee were to fail to rationalize its work this task should once again be taken up by the Fourth Committee itself.

Secondly, another change that must occur involves rethinking and rearticulating concepts relating to decolonization. As only one example, the draft resolutions we are being asked to vote on reiterate yet again the notion that the only means of concluding the process of self-determination is independence. This has been true for many Territories and may, indeed, be true for others in the future. But it is also very clear that some of the remaining Territories may prefer another outcome in their exercise of their right to self-determination. They may wish to choose alternative options, such as free association with an existing State or integration into an existing State. These options are clearly provided for in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), but they have not been mentioned in the resolutions on decolonization adopted in recent years.

Not only does the legitimacy of these alternative options need to be reaffirmed, but the United Nations bodies charged with responsibility for

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decolonization need to clarify the ways in which the Territories may be acknowledged as having achieved full self-government. There is little value in having the United Nations speak only about the one option of independence, especially when Territories can speak for themselves and may prefer a different alternative.

Thirdly, new thinking and new language are essential in discussing the roles of foreign economic interests and military installations in the Territories. Blanket condemnations are passé and do a disservice to those Territories that seek foreign investment and are interested in maintaining their relationships with foreign military bases. As the United States pointed out in its statement on Guam - twice in the Special Committee and also in the Fourth Committee - the military presence there has never been a hindrance to the process of self-determination; in fact, quite the opposite. The old rhetoric attacking the military presence must be abandoned, especially when it is a presence that the people of the Territories welcome.

A last category of reform involves institutional changes on a larger scale. While no delegation addressed the issue formally in the Fourth Committee, conversations held at the margins of the Committee considered reform proposals that have been in the air for some time. Some delegations raised the idea of having the Special Committee meet only every other year, as developments in the remaining Territories are not expected to follow a pace of change as rapid as that which has occurred up to now. Others have proposed adjusting the size of the Special Committee, or rotating its membership, so that it might work more effectively and benefit from new blood and additional perspectives.

The United States has been encouraged by the serious attention being paid to the need for reform. The United Nations bodies charged with responsibility for

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decolonization must now respond. Reform is a task that requires courageous leadership and bureaucratic boldness. We look forward to working with the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Martin Adouki, and the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse, in this effort. We believe that decolonization, like so many other concerns, can be made a field of the new United Nations. We welcome the sentiments articulated by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee and by many countries at the 1990 session. We hope that the effort for reform will be undertaken promptly and will reach fruition next year.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): A few weeks ago at its special solemn meeting in this Hall the General Assembly commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On 14 December 1960 when the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) and the Declaration it contained, it was aware of the fact that considerable effort would be needed to reach the historic goal proclaimed in the Declaration.

As was pointed out here by the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on 10 October this year:

> "This is an anniversary on which we should take stock of our achievements and the challenges that remain in this important field of human endeavour." (A/45/PV.29, p. 33)

In this connection, we must definitely pay due tribute to the Special Committee, which was established in 1961 to monitor the implementation of the Declaration, and the results achieved thus far are greatly to its credit.

It is symbolic that in the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration, such an important event has taken place on the African continent as Namibia's accession to independence and its becoming a Member of the United Nations. The experience acquired in achieving Namibian independence has been of great value. The machinery which proved itself so effective in this case, with the participation of the Organization, could be used in the future, as was confirmed by the debate in the Fourth Committee during the current session of the General Assembly.

We are now nearing a successful resolution of the situation in Western Sahara. The United Nations could, mutatis mutandis, apply the successful approaches taken in Namibia to the case of the referendum in Western Sahara. However, we would not be realistic if we were to close our eyes to the numerous

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difficulties which still stand in the way of the decolonization process as a whole and the complications that arise in the work of the Special Committee on decolonization.

The majority of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are remote island Territories limited in population and with scant resources. According to the provisions of the Declaration, the task of the United Nations is to assist the peoples of these Territories in their political, economic and social progress. Some of them are actively striving to achieve independence; and in others the current situation is such that the population at this stage does not object to its existing status. But in either case, this does not lift from the United Nations or the Administering Authorities the responsibility to care for their development, because only through the achievement of a definite level of the requisite political structures, by the education and social and economic development of the population, can the latter make conscious and genuinely free choices.

In the first place, in our opinion, this requires all-round co-operation in promoting all forms of traditional, as well as universally recognized, political activity on the part of the indigenous populations of the Territories.

Secondly, particular attention should be paid to the economic activities of the governing authorities and major international monopolies which, by their actions, are radically changing the very form of life of the indigenous populations. Immediate economic benefits resulting from the over-exploitation of the resources frequently lead to the need for a total professional reorientation of the active population.

The balance created over centuries in the use of the natural resources of these Territories is very fragile, easily upset, and subsequently impossible to restore to its pristine state.

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The specialized agencies of the United Nations system could considerably assist in the rational utilization of nature, mitigate the economic difficulties and contribute to progress. Some of them are sufficiently active in this respect; for example, the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Development Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, among others. All of us, and in particular the populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, expect major results from some of these agencies.

However, the most serious intrusion into the system of vital values of the Non-Self-Governing Territories is, as we see it, the military activity of the Administering Authorities. Military activity beyond the frontiers of one's own territory, if not in conformity with the United Nations Charter and Security Council resolutions, is a threat to peace and security. This is our profound conviction. Military activity within dependent Territories is also a direct threat to the culture, traditions and moral values of the indigenous populations, and matters are not altered by the number of troops and armaments deployed in the Non-Self-Governing Territory concerned.

Quantitative changes in regard to Non-Self-Governing Territories have led to qualitatively new approaches to the process of decolonization in the world community. These approaches have been clearly reflected in the discussions that have taken place in the Fourth Committee during the current session of the General Assembly. Many comments were made and many proposals were submitted to the Special Committee of 24, some of which have been reiterated during the course of the present discussions at the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. While some of these proposals are already being put into practice, others call for detailed discussion. Nevertheless, it is clear that in regard to the implementation of the

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Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples we find ourselves now in a new phase, the essential characteristic of which is the altered climate in the world: the transition from the era of confrontation to the era of co-operation.

In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to resolution 1990/60 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations", which was adopted at the summer session of the Economic and Social Council on 26 July this year virtually by consensus. In our opinion, this is an example of mutual understanding and compromise when the parties wisely agreed to yield in small matters so as to triumph overall. In our case, the triumph overall implies the successful conclusion of the process of decolonization as a whole.

In trying to contribute to this course of events in every way the Ukraine has become one of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17, entitled, respectively, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" and "Dissemination of information on decolonization", which we hope will be adopted by the Assembly.

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Two years ago the General Assembly proclaimed the 1990s the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. The discussions at the present session have shown that this goal can be reached. The historic problems of the Decade will be resolved if all of us are systematically guided by the universal principle that is enshrined in General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) and that lays down unequivocally that the question of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): The United Nations, as an Organization, represents many things to many people. To the ill and infirm, the United Nations and its associated bodies provide hope against diseases that kill and maim. To those who can neither read nor write, the United Nations and its associated bodies provide the hope that they too will one day possess the skills of modern-day literacy. To those who have for so long lived in the shadow of fear with the haunting spectre of nuclear or chemical warfare hovering over their futures like a dark cloud, the United Nations represents mankind's best hope that nations may yet renounce war in favour of peace.

To those who have been colonized, disenfranchised, and essentially denied the right to determine their own futures and to decide who they are and what they wish to be, the United Nations is the forum of last resort. It is the United Nations to which those who are colonized look for justice. It is the United Nations that has helped colonized peoples on every continent shape the international struggle against colonialism. It is the United Nations that has helped those that were once colonized participate in the process of redefining the post-colonial world.

Despite the very visible and dramatic successes of the decolonization process, we cannot yet write the concluding chapter in this unfortunate saga of the human

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experience. Today, a few tell us that colonialism has ended and that the international community should now shift its focus elsewhere. Let us remember that 30 years ago there were also a few who questioned the need to make decolonization a major international priority. There were even some who questioned the role of the United Nations in the decolonization process.

Today, no one can seriously question that role. It is an accepted matter of international jurisprudence that the United Nations plays a major role in the decolonization process. Instead of questions concerning the legitimacy of that role, we are today confronted with suggestions that the decolonization process has been completed, or that one Territory or another does not fall within the ambit of the decolonization process because of one fiction or another.

We are constantly reminded that the world has changed and that those of us who are concerned about colonialism should be realistic and take into account the changes that have occurred in today's world. Indeed, the world has changed, and is continuing to change rapidly. We agree that there is a need for a sense of realism in our deliberations on the subject of colonialism.

However, it is all of us, rather than a few of us, who should be realistic. Furthermore, the need for a sense of realism exists on all subjects, and not only on the subject of colonialism. Often, those who ask for flexibility and changes in approach when the subject is colonialism are themselves somewhat less flexible and less open to changes in approach on other subjects.

In addition, we would certainly not be the first to have observed that sometimes the more things change, the more they remain the same. Political or administrative colonialism may have ended in most of the world. However, many Territories, particularly in the Pacific and in the Caribbean, continue to be non-self-governing in the truest sense of the expression.

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It is well established that, regardless of size, population, abundance of resources or geographic remoteness, the people of every Territory are entitled to the same right of self-determination and independence. This is a universal right. Whether political independence is actually chosen in every instance is a decision to be made by the people of each Territory themselves. No one can decide for them and no one should attempt to influence their decision with false or seductive promises.

Once again, we recall that sometimes the more things change, the more they remain the same. The political or administrative dimension of colonialism is only one facet of that political, economic and social phenomenon. In addition, as the world has recently learned, new forms of colonialism often emerge as old forms of colonialism recede.

The invasion, occupation, and attempted annexation of Kuwait bears a striking resemblance to earlier forms of colonialism. The tragedy that has befallen Kuwait should remind us all to be vigilant and outspoken opponents of all forms of colonialism, new or old, regardless of their cloak. Unfortunately, too many of us were silent in the past when other Territories and other countries were invaded and occupied. In those instances our silence or inaction helped to create dangerous precedents which emboldened those who awaited opportune moments to practise their own version of colonialism. It is to be hoped that the resolution of the situation in the Persian Gulf will help to bring about a new collective respect for international law and a determination consistently to apply the same principles in every instance.

Selective morality is no morality at all. Principles selectively applied are no principles at all. This is as true on the subject of colonialism as it is on any other subject. History, should we care to be so guided, is most instructive in this regard.

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It is for this reason that the Government of Vanuatu continues to support the work of the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Special Committee of 24 continues to serve a useful purpose. Its work should be an important focus for the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Like others, we would like to see the Committee's work proceed harmoniously and with enhanced effectiveness. However, this can occur only if all of us renew and reiterate our commitment to the decolonization process and work with the Committee in an open and constructive manner.

We should also be willing to listen to new ideas and fresh approaches in the area of decolonization. However, any new proposals should result from a meaningful and sincere dialogue which draws on the ideas and experiences of us all rather than on the wishes of a few.

In this regard, we have joined with others, particularly the member States of the South Pacific Forum, in requesting that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or a specially designated representative of the Secretary-General, visit each of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories as close to the outset of the International Decade as practical. Such visits have important practical consequences as well as important symbolic value. Vanuatu believes that each of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories presents unique circumstances which should be carefully studied and analysed. Information on these territories should then receive the widest possible international dissemination.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

An appeal could then be issued urging those who are still administering Non-Self-Governing Territories to establish the necessary conditions, as soon as possible, to enable the peoples of those Territories to gain their political and economic independence prior to 31 December 1999, in accordance with the principles and practices of the United Nations. Strengthening the effectiveness and stature of United Nations bodies and specialized agencies concerned with decolonization would be a necessary corollary.

Vanuatu also believes it is important for the international community to request all States to consider the adoption of national legislation to promote the human rights of peoples living under colonialism and to facilitate their recourse to judicial proceedings in order to gain economic and social restitution. Justice will thus be better served.

As we mark the thirtieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the world stands poised on the threshold of a new commitment to respect the dignity and equality of all human beings. We have travelled a long and circuitous path to reach that threshold. However, no matter how difficult that path has been, the fact remains that the final step across the threshold will be the most difficult of the entire journey.

We must now ask ourselves whether we have the courage, the vision and the will to take that final decisive step. Will we remain true to the people of New Caledonia as they attempt to reclaim their heritage? Will we remain true to the people of Western Sahara as they attempt to determine their own future? Will we remain true to the people of every other Non-Self-Governing Territory when they look to the United Nations for guidance, inspiration and help? Will we remain true to our respective histories, and to the future we have promised our children?

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

History's judgement awaits us. We will be judged in our entirety, by our deeds as well as by our words. Let us thus marry our deeds to our words, so that we can cross the threshold of the third millennium free of colonialism and the consequences of colonialism.

Ms. AL MULLA (Kuwait): On this thirtieth anniversary of resolution 1514 (XV) the international community is rededicating itself to an agenda for the future. Commitment to the principles and goals of the Charter was the bond that led the international community 30 years ago to adopt the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. To paraphrase a Chinese philosopher, it is like a path in the countryside: where there was no path, one is made by those who walk there time and again. Resolution 1514 (XV) is that path to the successful process of decolonization.

The universal right of self-determination must not be denied to any people. The right to embark on the path of freedom and dignity must not be withheld under any pretext, be it the size of a Territory, its geographical location, or its economic, social or political development. The decolonization process has been a collective endeavour. The latest confirmation of what a unified and resolute community of nations can achieve is the presence of Namibia as a full-fledged Member of the world Organization. We wholeheartedly welcome that development. Kuwait pledges its support to this ongoing process so that we can all enjoy by the year 2000 a world free from colonialism.

Humanity has come a long way since the Second World War in shaping a world free from fear, from the scourge of war and from annihilation, a world that reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights and the worth of the human person, a world where peoples are determined to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

(Ms. Al Mulla, Kuwait)

These objectives, enshrined in the Preamble to the Charter, are being bolstered not only by a successful process of decolonization but also by changes on the world scene. These changes are ushering in a new order based on greater understanding among the peoples of the world.

This march of humanity towards a better world is not without difficulties. Challenges, chiefly economic ones, need to be met and resolved. But while members of the international community are charting their arduous course through economic and social development and, for many, survival, a new spectre looms over that course. A spectre of the past, of darkness and evil, is obstructing the progress to a better future.

A threat to the existence of a Member State of the United Nations is the greatest challenge of all, not only to Kuwait but to each and every Member of the Organization. The blatant aggressive policies reminiscent of pre-colonial days are a challenge that needs to be met with the kind of resolve that could be the test for our post-world-war era.

A repository of inhuman and repressive practices, which have been unleashed across its borders, the Iraqi régime is a menace to the entire world. Kuwaiti people are its most immediate victims, world order is its other victim. But my people, armed with resolve and the collective support of the international community, is fighting back. In the struggle for a better world to overcome the challenges of the future Kuwait will spare no effort in meeting the challenges of today. United, let us break the chains not only of the past but also of the present - today and not tomorrow.

Mr. ZAMORA RODRIGUEZ (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The item that we are considering today, which concerns the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, continues to be of particular importance in the work of the Organization.

The United Nations Charter clearly embodies as one of its guiding principles the right of all peoples to exercise self-determination. In the light of this principle, throughout the last 45 years we have witnessed events that not only are landmarks in the history of the world Organization but have changed as never before the geographical, political and economic map of our planet. One of these was the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV), which, while contributing decisively to fostering the dreams of decolonization that flourished in the decades immediately following the end of the Second World War, also framed one of the most humane tasks undertaken by the United Nations since its creation: the total elimination of colonialism from the face of the earth.

Only a few weeks ago we commemorated in this Hall the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of that resolution and we all, without exception, welcomed the fact that its implementation has enabled the United Nations to have today 159 Member States, most of which were formerly part of colonial empires but which, thanks to the efforts of their peoples and the support of the international community, are now part of the group of nations that make up our Organization.

This should not, however, be only a source of rejoicing; it should spur us on to conclude the work that was well begun and has been well carried out so far. It is the responsibility of every one of us, without exception, to continue to struggle for the self-determination of those who, a few years before the end of the current millenium, still live under the colonial yoke.

(Mr. Zamora Rodriguez, Cuba)

That is why, at its forty-third session, the General Assembly, on 22 November 1988 - almost exactly two years ago - decided to proclaim, in resolution 43/47, the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism with a view to ensuring that before the end of the current millenium the practice of colonialism will have been totally eradicated. However, if that laudable proposition is to be reached, the international community must be ready, as in the past, to recognize that every nation, regardless of size, population, geographic location, economic characteristics or distance from major markets, has an absolute right to exercise self-determination and achieve full independence.

We are today considering the work of the Committee known as the Special Committee of 24. We believe that this Committee continues to have a fundamental role to play in the task of decolonization being carried out by the United Nations, and that it faces greater difficulties today than in the past. Some question its actions and doubt that it may still be as useful as in the recent past, but it is undeniable that colonial Territories remain in the four corners of the earth and that we find in all of them, without exception, the identical practices that have helped to make colonialism an abomination in the age of space exploration and the scientific and technological revolution, especially when we are told that the world is awakening to a new era.

The fact is that actions by the various metropolitan countries are increasingly leading to the deculturization of colonial Territories, leading them further and further away from their traditions, their national identity and even their language. Their territories are used as sources of raw materials and cheap labour, distorting their economies and making them ever more dependent. They are being used more and more as military bases, at times nuclear, and as testing grounds for new weapons, which sometimes endangers the lives and health of their

(Mr. Zamora Rodriguez, Cuba)

indigenous inhabitants. They have also been used and continue to be used as springboards for aggression against independent third world countries.

The Special Committee, at its session this year, adopted draft resolutions on those various phenomena and strongly condemned them.

The year now coming to a close has witnessed an act of decolonization that helps to demonstrate clearly the importance of our continuing to devote every effort to the elimination of colonialism. I refer to the independence of Namibia, whose people, thanks to its efforts and resolve and to international co-operation, today enjoys freedom and sovereignty and is represented in the General Assembly.

Similarly, the people of Western Sahara, also in the course of this year, has made great strides in its struggle for independence. The draft resolution recently adopted unanimously by the Fourth Committee at this session and the action taken in the Security Council with a view to the prompt implementation of the Secretary-General's plan for the holding of a referendum in that Territory are positive elements that must be welcomed.

However, we do not see similar developments in the case of other Territories still under colonial domination. On the contrary, we note with concern that some colonial Powers refuse to co-operate in the work of the Special Committee of 24, creating obstacles and depriving it of the sources of information on the Territories that are basic to its work. Similarly, some Powers continue to refuse to recognize the colonial nature of Territories under their domination. That is the case with Puerto Rico, whose recognized right to self-determination and independence must be respected.

An arduous task lies ahead. We must work with all possible vigour, imagination and intelligence in preparing the plan of action for the International Decade for the Elimination of Colonialism, the adoption of which we are forced to

(Mr. Zamora Rodriguez, Cuba)

postpone this year for the second consecutive time. In this context, we are convinced that, in addition to the full co-operation that all States, in particular the colonial Powers, must provide, it is necessary to mobilize international public opinion so that the final elimination of the practice of colonialism may be promoted by all the means available, thus contributing to the attainment of the goals of the Decade. As we have done in the case of other important tasks of our Organization, we should perhaps, as suggested by the Third Ministerial Conference on Information of countries members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, launch a world decolonization campaign in which the mechanisms of the United Nations, and in particular those of the Department of Public Information, could play a leading role.

(Mr. Zamora Rodriguez, Cuba)

In conclusion, we remain convinced that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has done commendable work during its years of existence and still has a very important role to play. We must not forget that the Special Committee of 24 is at the same time the promoter of, and the guarantor of compliance with, one of the principles which led to the creation of our Organization - self-determination of peoples. It is therefore our collective duty to continue to work in and co-operate with the Special Committee so that we may attain our goal of starting the new millenium in a world free from colonial domination, free from the outrage of colonialism.

Mr. MARA (Fiji): The 1990s have begun in a way that is reminiscent of the commencement of the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. Will this decade also prove to be as shattering of the old order? Will this decade launch a transformation process as deep in its effect and as fundamental in its scope? Certainly the early signs would suggest that a parallel process is under way. It is perhaps against this background of the world in transition that what is left of decolonization needs to be seen.

Colonialism and decolonization have long been buzz-words in the parlance of the United Nations. Undoubtedly, the decolonization revolution has been a major chapter in the annals of the first half-century of the Organization's life, and one of its most outstanding success stories. But that chapter is now all but over. With Namibia's independence earlier this year, what remains are a few small Territories. The urgency and high profile of the decolonization explosion of the 1960s is no more. Some Territories still on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories cannot properly be dealt with as decolonization questions. World attention is focused on other issues, more pressing and currently impinging on the interests and concerns of the vast majority of countries - such as the alarming

(Mr. Mara, Fiji)

situation in the Persian Gulf, the threat to the global climate and the environment, the debt crisis, the drug scourge, the AIDS epidemic and so on.

There were 76 Territories listed as non-self-governing in December 1946, and they have featured high on the agenda of the Organization. Today there are only 18 Territories left on that list. Nearly half the present Members of the United Nations were born out of the decolonization process. The movement has largely come of age, and it is time to take that reality into account. Most of the Territories that are still on the list are there because, for the time being, the inhabitants concerned wish it so. Other than some unrepresentative opinions expressed by petitioners, there is hardly any visible, broad-based clamour for immediate independence by the people of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The occasion of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism should be used to carry out a thorough stocktaking of the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that at the beginning of the new century they will all have exercised their right to self-determination and chosen their future status. And there should be understanding by this body if, after a free and fair expression of the will of the people, some might opt for a status other than independence. The Non-Self-Governing Territories look to the United Nations to safeguard their interests and ensure that they are not denied their prerogative to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination - but they, not the United Nations, must make the choice.

Fiji's strong interest in decolonization, derived in part from our own colonial and post-independence experience, is underpinned by our firm belief in the principles involved. But it is also made relevant because most of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are small islands, many being in the Pacific Ocean. Their small size and other limitations, however, must not be allowed to impede the

(Mr. Mara, Fiji)

right of the people concerned to decide on their future for themselves. As it has done so admirably in the past, the Special Committee on decolonization, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly itself must be the custodian of the inalienable right of the people and must insist that in discharging their responsibilities the administering Powers concerned must respect these rights and enable the people of the Territories to make their decisions freely and without pressure. Furthermore, when the people have made their choice, their decision should be respected even though that might be contrary to the conventional wisdom on decolonization.

It was four years ago that the General Assembly reinscribed New Caledonia on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. Since then representatives of the peoples of New Caledonia and of the administering Power have signed the Matignon and Rue Oudinot Agreements. In the best traditions of statesmanship, confrontation and bitterness were set aside and in their place was laid the foundation of a more constructive and progressive relationship.

Although important and far-reaching advances are being made, compromises have also had to be accommodated. A system of regular review has been instituted. The Special Committee on decolonization, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly must closely monitor the situation in that Territory to ensure that the rights of the people are respected. Of special concern must be the position and interests of the indigenous Kanak people. A major factor in the present difficulties, and likely to be the basis of potential future disagreements if not addressed adequately, is the fact that the indigenous people have long been neglected and marginalized, almost totally excluded from the political, social and economic mainstream. There is much catching up to do.

Bringing Kanaks rapidly and effectively into the affairs of the Territory is the most urgent responsibility of the administering Power. The United Nations must ensure that that responsibility is carried out in accordance with accepted

(Mr. Mara, Fiji)

principles and practices. Self-determination, after all, does not have only a political dimension: the principle applies in the economic and social areas as well, and these need to be catered for if the act of self-determination is to have real meaning and viability.

The seminars which were held in Vanuatu and Barbados earlier this year have provided the framework on which the remaining work of decolonization can be based. The seminars were highly successful and I must congratulate the Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. Tadesse of Ethiopia, for his expert and skilful leadership as well as the dedicated members of his Bureau and the hard-working Secretariat staff. As a means of streamlining and facilitating future work, the suggestion made by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, the Permanent Representative of Congo, for a working group to be set up to bridge the areas of common interest between the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee would be worth pursuing.

In this final decade of the twentieth century the world is poised to complete a transformation which sprang out of the turmoil of the Second World War. Complemented by other evolutionary changes, it is now time to bring an end to a practice which, along with the abhorrent system of apartheid, should be consigned to the dustbin of history. The declaration of the 1990s as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism is both timely and appropriate. To be successful, the Decade must be used by colonizers and colonized and by the United Nations system, in a truly co-operative strategy to attain the objectives. My delegation hopes that this commitment will be readily given, especially by the administering Powers.

Mr. CISTERNAS (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): There is no doubt that we must begin our consideration of this agenda item by expressing our deep and heartfelt satisfaction at seeing Namibia present as a full-fledged, sovereign Member of the United Nations. Only a few years ago it was difficult to predict that the outcome would be so swift and that the political structure decided upon by the people of Namibia in exercise of its sovereignty would be so appropriate. We have witnessed an extraordinarily positive development which we all applaud.

But we well know that in the world of international relations there are no miracles. It is only the political will of the actors and players on this stage that is valid. If the Namibian people had not shown the political will to be free and to become a sovereign nation, all the efforts of the international community would not have sufficed to achieve its goals of giving that Territory the liberty it so desired and to free it from the hateful apartheid régime.

In addition to this political will, however, the causes that deserve our efforts must be just; they must be good; they must be worthy of support. This is especially true in the case of decolonization - a subject which gives rise to worry and concern because, over and above circumstantial political considerations or economic and social considerations, the cause of decolonization is first and foremost a matter that involves moral and ethical principles. Therein lie the basic reasons why we wish to achieve at the earliest possible date the goal that we have set for ourselves, so that by the year 2000 the world will be free from the effects of colonialism and all the peoples of the Earth will be able to exercise without hindrance their cherished right to self-determination.

It has been said and repeated year in and year out that one of the most fundamental tasks of the United Nations is about to be fulfilled with extraordinary success. The efforts of the international community in the area of decolonization

(Mr. Cisternas, Chile)

have borne spectacular fruit, as proved by the large number of countries that are today Members of the United Nations and that until recently had been colonies or protectorates.

However, it should also be emphasized that we have begun to carry out the task but have not yet fully done so. True, there are not even 20 Non-Self-Governing Territories today and they have the common feature of being geographically small and sparsely populated. But, since our task is significant and has ethical and moral consequences, nothing should divert us from fulfilling our mandate.

It is precisely because we do not believe that the problems before us for consideration can be solved by miracles that we are optimistic about the result of our work. However, we are concerned in a very real sense about the future of peoples that rely on us to achieve better ways of life within institutional political frameworks that guarantee the free exercise of their fundamental rights and their access to increasingly better standards of living. We are not concerned merely over the future of the Sahraoui people and the people of New Caledonia, who live in Territories that are relatively larger in size and have more natural resources than those of other peoples still under colonial régimes: we wish freedom and justice for everyone who lives in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The United Nations created the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the very clear purpose of setting in train and monitoring the implementation of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which, as we have said before, has yielded such splendid results. We have heard - especially during the recent debates in the Fourth Committee - criticism and reproaches directed against this organ of the United Nations. It is not surprising that after so many years, on the thirtieth

(Mr. Cisternas, Chile)

anniversary of the adoption of that resolution, different opinions are voiced about the activities of the Special Committee.

Various suggestions and proposals have been made in order to resolve the difficulties that we are supposedly facing at this stage, which we believe to be the last stage in our efforts and struggles. The delegation of Chile is willing to consider with an open mind the criticism that has been expressed and the solutions that have been proposed in order to improve the Special Committee's framework and methods of work. We are convinced that we shall be able to achieve outstanding agreements that will enable us to work in the best possible way and thereby not to disappoint the peoples that are awaiting the results of our deliberations with justified hopes.

But, despite our open mind in this regard, we must clearly state at this time that the proposals and efforts that may be made to change the work of our Committee should never, in our view, tarnish the image of the Special Committee or its members nor lead to unacceptable limitations on its competence. The Special Committee's work should be strengthened, never weakened, if we wish to crown with success the task that lies ahead until the end of this century.

From this lofty rostrum the Chilean delegation wishes to make it very clear once again that the Government of Chile identifies fully with the cause of decolonization and thus with the principles and purposes contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). We also reaffirm our resolute support for the proposal that the period between and the year 2000 should be declared the International Decade for the Elimination of Colonialism.

Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): We all remember the special meeting that took place during the current session of the General Assembly to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - a significant event. The role of the Declaration as one of the United Nations documents on which collective action to liberate colonial peoples is based received unanimous praise. As has been pointed out by the Secretary-General,

> "... to colonial peoples everywhere, the adoption of the Declaration by the Assembly conveyed the promise of a new world order based on justice and equal rights for all peoples." (A/45/PV.29, p. 31)

The outstanding successes achieved by peoples on the way to decolonization, with the active participation of the United Nations in the process, in the course of which dozens of new independent States have emerged in the world, have altered radically the very political aspect of the planet.

The recent independence of Namibia was a significant event. Here the United Nations played a key role. And now we look forward to settlement of the Western Sahara problem.

The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is rightly described as historic. This description places due emphasis on the exceptional role of the document and on the need to implement all its prescriptions.

Inasmuch as there are still about a score of essentially small Non-Self-Governing Territories that come within the ambit of the Declaration, the document has not yet become merely a part of history but continues to be a live and operative instrument. That being the case, it is easy to understand why the General Assembly is devoting attention to the task of its full implementation.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

That is precisely the purpose behind the General Assembly's decision to proclaim the period 1990 to 2000 as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Realization of the purpose of that decision calls for joint efforts by the entire international community to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and to affirm in world practice the principles of free choice, the balance of interests, political realism and responsible conduct by States, as well as the promotion of democracy and human rights.

We are convinced that all States - indeed the international community as a whole - must be involved in the solution of this problem, as success in that regard will constitute an important step on the way to the building of a non-violent, safer and more just world. The radical positive changes in the international situation, the removal of the sequels of the cold war, and mankind's movement into the post-confrontation era are producing particularly favourable opportunities for the speedy conclusion of the process of decolonization.

Speedy implementation of the Declaration on decolonization calls for harmonization of the approaches and actions of States in this and related spheres. It calls for the overcoming of the stereotypes and prejudices of confrontation. It requires the transfer of this activity of the United Nations into the sphere of mutually acceptable, practical solutions. In this respect, the guidelines are: recognition of the priority of common human values, the inalienable right of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories to freedom of choice, and acknowledgement of the fact that there are many and varied ways of achieving economic development and the universal protection of human rights.

In regard to the peoples of the last-remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, unqualified respect for the right to self-determination must be an inviolable rule. The primary duty of the administering Powers and the task of the

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

international community is to contribute in every way possible to the establishment of the conditions that are necessary if the peoples of these Territories are, without hindrance, to realize the right to self-determination and independence.

The path of the peoples of colonial Territories towards self-determination is strewn with numerous obstacles. These must be set aside. Of particular significance is protection of the right of the peoples of colonial Territories to decide how their own natural resources should be used. It is important that there be established a situation that would preclude any abuses by certain foreign economic and other circles, to the detriment of the rights and interests of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to the resources of their environment.

Much has already been said about the serious barrier on the way to decolonization constituted by the presence of foreign military forces in colonial Territories. The elimination of military bases and a commitment by the Administering Authorities not to establish new military bases or facilities and not to use these Territories for the testing or deployment of weapons of mass destruction would be an important step on the way to implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on decolonization.

The total elimination of colonialism requires improvements in the operation of all bodies of the United Nations that deal with the problems of decolonization. It requires more effective use of the resources of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of States to this end as well. The Soviet delegation has already, in statements in the Fourth Committee, put forward its views on this matter. As we see it, the central features should be co-operation and interaction on the part of all States, and above all co-operation by the administering Powers; the building of a global partnership; a radical turn towards a search for agreed solutions dictated by the interests of the peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

The world has every opportunity to move into the twenty-first century having rid itself totally of the legacy of its colonial past. These possibilities can and must be made real.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item.

Action on the three draft resolutions contained, respectively, in paragraph 26, part II, of the report (A/45/23) of the Special Committee and in documents A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17, as well as on the draft decision contained in document A/45/L.18, will be taken later this afternoon.

AGENDA ITEMS 111, 112, 113 AND 12, 114, 115, AND 18 (continued)

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/680)

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/681)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS; REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/682)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/683)

OFFERS BY MEMBER STATES OF STUDY AND TRAINING FACILITIES FOR INHABITANTS OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/684)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/45/685 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT: I request the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee to introduce the reports of the Fourth Committee in one statement.

Mr. KEMBER (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration six reports of the Fourth Committee relating, respectively, to items 18, 111, 112, 113 and 12, 114 and 115 of the agenda.

The first report (A/45/685 and Corr.1), relates to those Territories which were not covered by other items of the agenda and which the Committee took up under agenda item 18. Set out in the report are 12 draft resolutions, two draft consensuses and one draft decision, relating respectively to: Western Sahara, New Caledonia, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, Tokelau, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Islands, Guam, Gibraltar, Pitcairn and St. Helena.

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur, Fourth Committee)

By adopting these proposals the General Assembly would, among other things, reaffirm the full application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to those Territories, and the inherent right of their peoples freely to determine their own future political status. The Assembly would request the administering Powers concerned to take all possible measures to expedite the process of decolonization. The Assembly would also urge the administering Powers, with the assistance of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, to accelerate the social and economic development of those Territories.

In noting with appreciation the continuing co-operation of some administering Powers in that regard, the Assembly would once again emphasize the importance of dispatching United Nations visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories so as to enable the United Nations to be fully apprised of the conditions prevailing in those Territories.

As regards Western Sahara, the General Assembly would, inter alia, reiterate its support for the joint good offices process initiated in New York on 9 April 1986 by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara, in accordance with resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU and General Assembly resolution 40/50, of 2 December 1985.

In reaffirming that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, the Assembly would welcome with satisfaction the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the situation concerning Western

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur, Fourth Committee)

Sahara, which was unanimously approved by Security Council resolution 658 (1990). It would also take note of the dispatching to the region of the technical mission in order to refine the administrative aspects of the outlined plan and to obtain the necessary information for the preparation of a further report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council containing, in particular, an estimate of the cost of the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara.

The Assembly would express its full support for the efforts of the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General to promote a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 40/50, and urge them to continue and intensify their efforts with a view to resolving the remaining problems and thus to fulfil the necessary conditions for the holding of a referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, without any administrative or military constraints, organized and supervised by the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU.

In reaffirming its conviction that the direct dialogue between the two parties to the conflict could contribute to the completion of the joint good offices process of the current Chairman of the OAU and the Secretary-General, to the restoration of peace in Western Sahara and to stability and security in the whole region, the Assembly would appeal once again to the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front to demonstrate the co-operation and political goodwill necessary for the completion of the peace process with a view to a speedy settlement of the question of Western Sahara.

Further, the Assembly would invite the Secretary-General of the OAU to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the OAU relating to Western Sahara.

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur, Fourth Committee)

With respect to New Caledonia, in noting the positive measures that continue to be pursued in that Territory by the French authorities in order to provide a framework for its peaceful progress to self-determination, the Assembly would urge al the parties involved, in the interest of all the people of New Caledonia, to maintain their dialogue in a spirit of harmony. The Assembly would also invite all the parties involved to continue promoting a framework for the peaceful progress of the Territory towards an act of self-determination in which all options would be open and which would safeguard the rights of all New Caledonians.

The second report (A/45/680) relates to agenda item 111, on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. The Fourth Committee recommends, among other things, that the Assembly reaffirm that, in the absence of a decision by the General Assembly itself that a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering Power concerned should continue to transmit in a timely manner information under Article 73 e with respect to that Territory, as well as providing the fullest possible information on political and constitutional developments.

The third report (A/45/681) relates to agenda item 112, on the activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration in colonial Territories. Among other provisions, the General Assembly would condemn those activities of foreign economic and other interests in the colonial Territories that are impeding the implementation of the Declaration, and call once again upon all Governments to take the necessary steps to put an end to such activities and to prevent new investments that run counter to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur,
Fourth Committee)

In a separate decision on the military activities and arrangements in colonial Territories which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration, the Fourth Committee recommends that the General Assembly call upon the colonial Powers concerned to terminate such activities unconditionally and to eliminate such military bases, in compliance with the related resolutions of the Assembly. The General Assembly would also reiterate that colonial Territories and areas adjacent thereto should not be used for nuclear testing, dumping of nuclear wastes or deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur, Fourth Committee)

The fourth report (A/45/682) relates to items 113 and 12 of the agenda, namely, implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations Noting the extremely fragile economies of the small island Territories and their vulnerability to natural disasters, the General Assembly would, among other provisions, request those organizations to render or continue to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples, bearing in mind that such assistance should not only meet their immediate needs but also create conditions for development after they have exercised their right to self-determination.

The fifth report (A/45/683) relates to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, under item 114. In expressing its appreciation to all those who have supported the Programme by providing contributions, scholarships or places in their educational institutions, the Assembly would appeal to all States, institutions, organizations and individuals to offer greater financial and other support to the Programme in order to secure its continuation and steady expansion.

The last report (A/45/684) relates to offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories, under item 115. In expressing its appreciation to those Member States that have made scholarships available to the inhabitants of such Territories, the Assembly would express its strong conviction that the continuation and expansion of offers of scholarships were essential in order to meet the increasing need of students from Non-Self-Governing Territories for educational and training assistance. Considering that students in those Territories should be encouraged to avail themselves of such offers, it would also urge the administering Powers to take

(Mr. Kember, Rapporteur, Fourth Committee)

effective measures to ensure the widespread and continuous dissemination in the Territories under their administration of information relating to such offers made by States.

On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I should like to commend these reports to the attention of the General Assembly.

Before concluding, I should like to thank the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Martin Adouki of the People's Republic of the Congo, for his leadership and for the advice and guidance he has given to me in connection with my tasks as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee.

I should also like to express my gratitude to my colleagues the members of the Fourth Committee for the co-operation and assistance they extended to me so willingly during the session, as well as to the Secretary of the Committee and his colleagues in the Secretariat. As the Permanent Representative of the Congo, Ambassador Adouki, indicated in his own statement to the General Assembly yesterday, it was a particularly significant year for the Committee in which members devoted considerable attention not only to the substance of the items before them but also to the manner in which the Committee could best work in the future.

The PRESIDENT: If there is no proposal under rule 66 of the rules of procedure, I take it that the General Assembly decides not to discuss the reports of the Fourth Committee which are before the Assembly today.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote.

(The President)

The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

May I remind members that under paragraph 7 of decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that

> "When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, i.e., either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee".

May I remind delegations that in accordance with that decision explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes.

Before we begin to take action on the recommendations contained in the reports of the Fourth Committee, I should like to advise representatives that we shall proceed with the voting in the same manner as was done in the Fourth Committee. This means that where recorded votes were taken we shall do the same. Also, I hope that we may proceed to adopt without a vote those recommendations that were adopted without a vote in the Fourth Committee, unless delegations have already notified the Secretariat otherwise.

The General Assembly will now consider the report (A/45/680) of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 111, entitled "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations".

The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of the report.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft resolution was adopted by 145 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 45/16).*

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 111.

The Assembly will now turn to the report (A/45/681) of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 112, entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence

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* Subsequently the delegations of Kenya and Namibia advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

(The President)

to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa".

The General Assembly will first take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 9 of the report.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft resolution in paragraph 9 of document A/45/681 was adopted by 113 votes to 11, with 24 abstentions (resolution 45/17).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take action on the draft decision recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report (A/45/681).

A recorded vote has been requested.

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* Subsequently, the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Central African Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft decision in paragraph 10 of document A/45/681 was adopted by 115 votes to 11, with 22 abstentions.*

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 112.

We turn now to the report (A/45/682) of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 113, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations", and agenda item 12, entitled "Report of the Economic and Social Council".

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* Subsequently, the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

(The President)

The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report (A/45/682).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Côte d'Ivoire, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Liechtenstein, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft resolution in paragraph 8 of document A/45/682 was adopted by 115 votes to 12, with 20 abstentions (resolution 45/18).*

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of New Zealand, who wishes to explain his of vote.

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* Subsequently, the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Mr. KEMBER (New Zealand): My delegation abstained on the draft resolution just adopted on the role of the specialized agencies and international institutions in the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. Like a number of other delegations which have also abstained this year, the New Zealand delegation had been pleased to be able to support a similar draft resolution on the specialized agencies when it came before the General Assembly last year. Our abstention this year was made in the knowledge that the agencies and institutions have played a full and vital role in the self-determination process over recent decades. New Zealand welcomes their continuing participation.

Indeed, this year's resolution incorporates some valuable changes. It acknowledges the important contribution of the Declaration on apartheid adopted by consensus last December. It also includes a paragraph of especial significance on the fragility of the economies of small island Territories and their vulnerability to natural disasters.

However, it is a matter for considerable regret that in other paragraphs this resolution has returned to the rhetoric of the past, in a way that strikes us as irrelevant to the real needs of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and, in some cases, covering matters that are already the subject of other agenda items. Unfortunately, this has been a characteristic of certain other draft resolutions considered this year by the Fourth Committee.

New Zealand is opposed to the practice of selective name-calling and would have voted against the fourteenth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 17 had separate votes been taken. These references were all the more unacceptable given their total inapplicability to the work of the specialized agencies in the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

As the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of the Congo and Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Adouki, indicated in his statement to

(Mr. Kember, New Zealand)

the General Assembly yesterday, this has been a particularly significant year for the Committee. With 30 years of decolonization experience behind the United Nations and a 10-year goal for the conclusion of this task, a stock-taking of working methods would seem to be appropriate.

On the basis of discussion in the Committee this year, Ambassador Adouki suggested the formation of an informal working group, in which New Zealand, in its capacity as a member of the Fourth Committee Bureau, would participate. Having itself once been responsible to the United Nations for several Non-Self-Governing Territories, but having seen in the course of the last 30 years self-determination exercised in all but one of these, New Zealand stands ready to assist in any appropriate way with the processes of self-determination that remain within the purview of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 113 and of chapters I and VI (section D) of the report of the Economic and Social Council under agenda item 12.

We turn now to the report (A/45/683) of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 114, entitled "United Nations educational and training programme for southern Africa".

The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report (A/45/683).

The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution in paragraph 8 of document A/45/683 was adopted (resolution 45/19).

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 114.

We turn now to the report (A/45/684) of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 115, entitled "Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories".

The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 7 of its report (A/45/684). The Fourth Committee adopted that draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution in paragraph 7 of document A/45/684 was adopted (resolution 45/20).

The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 115.

(The President)

We shall now consider the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 18 (A/45/685 and Corr.1) concerning the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to specific Territories not covered by other agenda items.

The Assembly will proceed to take decisions on the various recommendations of the Fourth Committee. I shall put the recommendations to the Assembly one by one. After all the votes have been taken, representatives will have the opportunity to explain their vote.

We turn first to the 12 draft resolutions recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 24 of its report.

Draft resolution I is entitled "Question of Western Sahara". The Assembly will now take a decision on that draft resolution. As stated in paragraph 14 of the report, the Fourth Committee adopted this draft consensus resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution I?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 45/21).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Question of New Caledonia". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution II?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 45/22).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "Question of Anguilla". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 45/23).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Question of Bermuda". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IV?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 45/24).

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will turn next to draft resolution V, entitled "Question of the British Virgin Islands". This draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 45/25).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI, entitled "Question of the Cayman Islands", was adopted by the Fourth Committee without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VI?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 45/26).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII is entitled "Question of Montserrat". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VII?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 45/27).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VIII is entitled "Question of the Turks and Caicos Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution VIII?

Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 45/28).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IX is entitled "Question of Tokelau". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution IX?

Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 45/29).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution X is entitled "Question of American Samoa". The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 45/30).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XI is entitled "Question of the United States Virgin Islands". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

Draft resolution XI was adopted (resolution 45/31).

The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XII is entitled "Question of Guam". A recorded vote has been requested on this draft resolution.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti. Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Israel, United States of America, Vanuatu

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution XII was adopted by 110 votes to 3, with 31 abstentions (draft resolution 45/32).*

The PRESIDENT: I now invite representatives to turn to the draft consensuses recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 25 of its report (A/45/685 and Corr.1).

Draft consensus I is entitled "Question of Gibraltar". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft consensus I?

Draft consensus I was adopted.

The PRESIDENT: Draft consensus II is entitled "Question of Pitcairn". The Fourth Committee adopted it without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft consensus II was adopted.

The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the draft decision entitled "Question of St. Helena" recommended by the Fourth Committee in paragraph 26 of its report (A/45/685 and Corr.1). A recorded vote has been requested on this draft decision.

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Kenya and Vanuatu advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey

The draft decision was adopted by 110 votes to 2, with 32 abstentions.*

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* Subsequently, the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour; the delegation of Lebanon had intended to abstain.

AGENDA ITEM 18 (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/45/23; A/AC.109/1015 and Corr.1, A/AC.109/1016-A/AC.109/1021, A/AC.109/1023 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/AC.109/1024-A/AC.109/1036, A/AC.109/1038, A/AC.109/1041 and Corr.1, A/AC.109/1044 and A/AC.109/1048 and Corr.1/Rev.1)

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/45/644 and Corr.1)

(c) DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/45/23 (part II) para. 26; A/45/L.16, A/45/L.17)

(d) DRAFT DECISION (A/45/L.18)

(e) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/45/686)

(f) LETTERS FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA (A/45/723, A/45/724)

The PRESIDENT: The debate on this item was concluded earlier this afternoon.

The Assembly will now turn to the recommendations contained in paragraph 26 of part II of the report of the Special Committee (A/45/23), to draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17 and to draft decision A/45/L.18.

(The President)

I call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who wishes to explain his vote before the voting.

May I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/301, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): In our statement to the Fourth Committee and in explanations of vote my delegation has been obliged to object to the outdated language of many of the resolutions which we have had to consider. We have not enjoyed doing so, but we believe that the resources and work of the United Nations are being misdirected. We think it is time to take a hard look at the practices and procedures of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. We need to eliminate repetition and duplication and to adopt instead a streamlined, pragmatic approach that responds better to the present-day needs of the peoples of the few small remaining dependent Territories.

The United Nations faces new challenges and demands, but its ability to respond is hampered when a disproportionate share of its resources is devoted to perpetuating work which should be consigned to the archives. The draft resolutions on which we are about to vote are good examples. Draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17 differ depressingly little from their predecessors. Like them, they are couched in the tired rhetoric of previous decades. They have nothing of relevance to say to the self-governing peoples of the British dependent Territories.

Last year my delegation made a statement in the Assembly on the draft resolution on marking the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization. My delegation voted against that draft resolution. We found it incomprehensible that additional efforts and resources should be devoted to the work of decolonization at a time when United Nations tasks in this field are

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

diminishing and yet the demands upon the resources of the United Nations are greater than ever before. This year's draft resolution on the observance of the thirtieth anniversary is no better than last year's. It is a compilation of all the irrelevant rhetoric of the past - and I am thinking in particular of operative paragraph 9. It is a cause for despair that we have to vote on such a document, which can only bring discredit upon the magnificent achievements of the past in the field of decolonization. We remind the Assembly once again that the right to self-determination does not necessarily mean full independence. The peoples of our remaining dependent Territories exercise their right to self-determination every time they go to the polls. Whether they decide to assume the responsibilities of full independence is entirely a matter for them. We respect their decisions.

I could have made much the same speech at any time in the past 10 years or so. But I should like to conclude on a slightly more hopeful note. We are aware that the Special Committee is reconsidering its approach to questions of decolonization now that Namibia has at last taken its place among us as an independent State, and now that, more clearly than before, we can see that what we are talking about is the future of a few small island Territories. I pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Committee for his interest in the matter, and I have also noted with interest the remarks made by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee. I can only hope that next year the Assembly and the Fourth Committee will not have to consider a multitude of draft resolutions that fail to reflect realities and do nothing to advance the wishes of the people of the remaining dependent Territories. After all, it is to advance their wishes that we are here in the first place.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations contained in paragraph 26 of document A/45/23 (part II), draft

(The President)

resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17 and the draft decision in document A/45/L.18. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications is contained in document A/45/686.

I have to announce the following additional sponsors of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17: Burkina Faso, Cyprus, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Venezuela.

The Assembly will now begin the voting process and vote first on the draft resolution entitled "Thirtieth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", which appears in paragraph 26 of part II of the report of the Special Committee (A/45/23).

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Belize, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden

The draft resolution in paragraph 26 of document A/45/23 (part II) was adopted by 124 votes to 2, with 21 abstentions (resolution 45/33).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/45/L.16, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

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* Subsequently the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Poland, Romania

Draft resolution A/45/L.16 was adopted by 131 votes to 2, with 15 abstentions (resolution 45/34).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/45/L.17, entitled "Dissemination of information on decolonization".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

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* Subsequently the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Abstaining: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Panama, Poland, Romania

Draft resolution A/45/L.17 was adopted by 133 votes to 2, with 14 abstentions (resolution 45/34).*

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft decision in document A/45/L.18, entitled "International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

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* Subsequently the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Belize, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The draft decision in document A/45/L.18 was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 23 abstentions.*

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* Subsequently the delegation of Kenya advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: I call now on representatives who wish to explain their vote. I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. FIFE (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

The Nordic countries continue to attach the utmost importance to the inalienable right of all peoples in Non-Self-Governing Territories to self-determination. We welcome, therefore, the accomplishments in the decolonization process, which has now very nearly run its course.

The Nordic countries voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and L.17. Regrettably, however, we could not do so without certain reservations.

Draft resolution A/45/L.16 contains formulations to which we cannot give our consent. Operative paragraphs 4 and 11 contain wording which is contrary to the principle in the Charter that the United Nations should always encourage peaceful solutions. We also find operative paragraphs 9 and 10 to be too categorically formulated.

As regards draft resolution A/45/L.17, our vote on operative paragraph 1, regarding the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on decolonization relating to the dissemination of information, should not be interpreted as approval of all specific parts of that chapter. Furthermore, the fourth preambular paragraph, regarding measures of censorship in South Africa, is at variance with current realities, in view of the significant developments that have taken place in that country over the past year.

The Nordic countries abstained on draft resolution A/45/L.18 as a consequence of their vote two years ago on the resolution on the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism.

(Mr. Fife, Norway)

Moreover, the Nordic countries regret that they had to abstain on the new draft resolution relating to the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In our opinion it contradicts the view that has been held consistently by the Nordic countries, among others, on the need to concentrate and rationalize the texts relating to decolonization. This text is much too long. What is more, it contains formulations that do not take into account positive developments that have taken place in southern Africa. I refer here, inter alia, to operative paragraphs 4 and 20. Namibia having attained independence, we also feel that the references to apartheid contained, inter alia, in the seventeenth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 9, do not really belong any more in the context of the decolonization process. Concerning operative paragraphs 15 and 16, relating to military activities, we feel that they are too categorical. Moreover, operative paragraph 7 contains ambiguous language as far as encouraging peaceful solutions is concerned.

The Nordic countries warmly welcome and feel encouraged by the proposal made by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Ambassador Adouki, Permanent Representative of Congo, that a working group be established to take a closer look at the structure and language of the texts pertaining to decolonization.

Mr. KEMBER (New Zealand): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniverary of the Declaration on decolonization. We did so because of our basic wish to be as forthcoming and supportive as possible on decolonization issues. Our record on this is clear.

We fully understand the need for resolutions to reflect the past. It is essential, as we indicated earlier in the session, for us also to look forward in ways that are constructive and positive and that keep uppermost the interests of those peoples which have yet to exercise self-determination. The regional seminars

(Mr. Kember, New Zealand)

on decolonization held earlier this year in Port Vila and Bridgetown amply demonstrate the value of continued dialogue with the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. This was a point made forcefully by the special representative of Tokelau earlier this year when he told the Sub-Committee on Small Territories of the Committee of 24 that Tokelau itself relied on the United Nations to help voice its aspirations, and its fears, to the international community.

We must register our disappointment, therefore, that a draft resolution commemmorating an important anniversary was not couched in terms that could have resulted in consensus. We are disappointed also to see further examples of outmoded language and hackneyed phrases irrelevant to the context and superseded by events. Our support for the draft resolution is therefore guarded. New approaches and new language are essential in future years if the resolutions are to have any relevance and utility as the beacon for decolonization in this International Decade. Accordingly, New Zealand welcomes the decision of the Special Committee of 24, to which its Rapporteur referred yesterday, to re-examine its work and resolutions next year. New Zealand looks forward to working with the Committee of 24 to this end, both as an administering Power and through its membership of the Bureau of the Fourth Committee for the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. GREEN (Canada): Canada abstained on draft resolution A/45/L.16 and on the draft decision contained in document A/45/L.18. These abstentions are in keeping with our votes on similar texts at previous sessions of the General Assembly.

While we supported draft resolution A/45/L.17, there remain some inappropriate references to apartheid and colonialism which we would hope to see removed or amended in future.

(Mr. Green, Canada)

Canada supported the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 30 years ago and it is with regret that we are obliged to abstain on the commemorative resolution contained in document A/45/23 (Part II) paragraph 26. As we have made clear on several occasions during this session of the General Assembly, the independence of Namibia has, in our view, removed the question of apartheid from the decolonization agenda. We do not believe, therefore, that it is appropriate for draft resolutions under this agenda item to contain language on apartheid. There are other, more appropriate, forums within the United Nations system for dealing with this question.

We are disappointed, therefore, to see that the drafters of these draft resolutions have not seized the opportunity to amend their texts to take into account recent developments in southern Africa, particularly in the light of the independence of Namibia.

Canada hopes that at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly such inappropriate and outdated language, including unnecessary and confrontational name-calling, will have been removed from our consideration of draft resolutions under this agenda item.

In this regard, we welcome the suggestion made yesterday by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee for the creation of a working group to assist in the process of developing draft resolutions on decolonization relevant to the needs of the 1990s.

Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia): My delegation has on several occasions declared its support for the businesslike work of the United Nations decolonization bodies. However, the draft resolutions we have just adopted are of a confrontational nature and do not reflect developments in the world. They contain

(Mr. Slaby, Czechoslovakia)

many paragraphs whose wording has little to do with the process of decolonization, and others which go beyond the mandate of the Committee of 24 and beyond the limits of decolonization.

(Mr. Slaby, Czechoslovakia)

That, unfortunately, is the case with regard to the draft resolutions on which we have just taken decisions. That is why my delegation abstained in the voting on draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17.

With regard to the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, my delegation would like to note the follow'ng. Czechoslovakia has declared on several occasions its adherence to the principles of the Declaration on decolonization, which contains such important principles as those of the right of all peoples to self-determination and independent economic, social and cultural development and the inadmissibility of the subjugation of nations to foreign domination and exploitation and of the violation of national unity and territorial integrity. Guided by those principles and those solemn goals, my delegation voted in favour of the text commemorating the thirtieth anniversary.

I will go further. My delegation is of the opinion that this symbolic draft resolution reminding us of the goals of decolonization should have been adopted by consensus. This position is another signal by our delegation, but at the same time we fully understand the reasons of those delegations that were not able to support the draft. Those that were unable to support the draft resolution are not responsible for the lack of a consensus.

Mr. SAVOV (Bulgaria): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples guided by an understanding of the need to pay a tribute to the international community for its tireless efforts in the field of decolonization and to reaffirm our commitment to the full implementation of the Declaration.

At the same time, my delegation would have preferred a more updated resolution. Moreover, the text also contains paragraphs that deal with apartheid.

(Mr. Savov, Bulgaria)

As the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria stated this morning, my delegation maintains the view that after the independence of Namibia the issues of apartheid should no longer be subject to consideration on the decolonization agenda. There exist a number of appropriate United Nations organs in which all aspects of apartheid should be dealt with.

It was on this same ground that my delegation abstained in the voting on draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17.

Ms. BIRD (Australia): Australia voted in favour of the three draft resolutions and the draft decision just adopted under this agenda item. Our decision to vote in favour was not taken either lightly or easily. It does not imply that Australia agrees with all that is contained in the texts considered under this item; far from it.

As my delegation has already had occasion to observe in the Fourth Committee, many of the draft texts that have come to us from the Committee of 24 contain language that is increasingly outdated and irrelevant. Language that may have been appropriate in the 1960s is no longer so today. We must resist the temptation simply to recycle language from year to year. We note, for example, that the references to South Africa in these texts take no account of significant changes that have taken place in that country in the past year.

The main factor motivating Australia to vote in favour of the texts is our strong support for the continuing role of the United Nations in the decolonization process. Australia supported the designation of the 1990s as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, and we strongly support the goal of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000, if not earlier.

To this end we must focus clearly on the work left to be done. Most of the remaining 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories on the United Nations list are small

(Ms. Bird, Australia)

island States in the Pacific and Caribbean. If we are to achieve the aims of the Decade it is vital that the work of the United Nations be relevant and targeted on the specific needs of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. Resolutions that recycle increasingly outdated or irrelevant language do not serve the purposes of those we are supposed to be assisting.

By voting in favour of the texts under this agenda item my delegation wishes to stress its willingness to work with all delegations to find a common approach to an area of United Nations work on which we should all be able to agree. We need unity of purpose rather than divisive language if the goals of the Decade are to be achieved.

In this connection we note with interest the suggestion made yesterday by the Chairman of the Fourth Committee for the establishment of an informal working group to help facilitate progress towards resolutions relevant to the 1990s. We look forward to working with other United Nations Members over the remainder of the decade to ensure that we are working in unison, with the collective goal of ridding the world of colonialism by the year 2000.

Mr. HAYES (Ireland): As in the case of similar draft resolutions in the past, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17. We also voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/45/23 (Part II), on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

My delegation voted in favour of these draft resolutions because of the importance we attach to the inalienable right to self-determination of all peoples. Ireland has always fully supported this right.

None the less, the draft resolutions we have supported contain some formulations with which we do not agree. This is especially true of the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniversary. In particular, Ireland does not believe

(Mr. Hayes, Ireland)

that the situation in South Africa should be covered in decolonization texts. Moreover, the texts do not, in our view, reflect the changing circumstances in southern Africa.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Austria considers that the process of decolonization constitutes one of the outstanding achievements of the United Nations. Austria has therefore consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations in this regard.

It is because of its sincere commitment to the process of decolonization and to the right of peoples to self-determination that Austria has supported draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17 and the draft resolution in document A/45/23 (Part II). However, that should not be interpreted as approval of all the provisions contained in these texts; we have reservations with regard to some of them.

I should like to mention in particular operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/45/L.16 and emphasize that Austria understands that paragraph as referring exclusively to the struggle by peaceful means, since Austria, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, is firmly convinced that the necessary change should be brought about by peaceful means alone.

My delegation abstained in the voting on the draft decision in document A/45/L.18.

With regard to the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Austria regrets that the text contains some controversial passages that prevented the adoption of this draft resolution by consensus, which, in our view, would have been appropriate to the occasion.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

Namibia's attainment of independence is a particular joy for us and a major achievement in the process of decolonization. A significant process of change is under way in South Africa. To our regret the texts on which we have just voted do not sufficiently reflect the important developments that have occurred since last year. They seem all the more untimely as the General Assembly itself has already adopted by consensus new formulations at the special session on apartheid last December and, most recently, at its resumed forty-fourth session. Austria is definitely in favour of updating our consideration of decolonization matters and, in this context, I want to express our appreciation and support for the proposal made by Ambassador Adouki, who so ably chaired the Fourth Committee, to establish a working group that would lead to reform, thereby strengthening the impact of our work with regard to decolonization.

In conclusion, let me reaffirm Austria's continued and unequivocal support for the process of decolonization.

Mr. DICTAKIS (Greece): Greece has consistently supported the efforts of the international community in the field of decolonization, which have brought about spectacular results over the past decades. The contribution of the United Nations in this field is of very great importance. In this spirit, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17, as it has consistently done in the past on similar draft resolutions, and of the draft resolution contained in document A/45/23 (part II), concerning the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

However, we wish to express reservations on certain provisions of those resolutions which we believe are not in consonance with the spirit of the resolution and the goals contained therein. Although Greece unswervingly condemns apartheid, we are particularly concerned that references to it in these resolutions

(Mr. Dictakis, Greece)

adopted since Namibia acceded to independence may give grounds for misinterpretation. Furthermore, we believe that the parts of those resolutions concerning the region of southern Africa do not fully reflect the recent developments there.

Mr. DA COSTA PEREIRA (Portugal): Portugal considers that the process of decolonization is one of the historic achievements of the United Nations and we hope that this process can soon be successfully completed.

Portugal fully supports the right of peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the very principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and therefore we voted in favour of draft resolutions A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17.

The draft resolution (A/45/23 (part II), para. 26) relating to the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contains formulations to which we give our full support - namely, operative paragraphs 11 and 13. However, I must say that my delegation has serious reservations about operative paragraphs 4 and 9. Portugal reiterates its opposition to the continued reference to apartheid in the context of decolonization matters. Such references are out of place and the language contained in those paragraphs does not take into account the encouraging and positive developments in South Africa. That is why my delegation abstained on that draft resolution.

Mr. SERRANO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As in the case of similar draft resolutions in previous years, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/45/L.16 and A/45/L.17. This is further proof of the importance my country attaches to the exercise by all peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination and of the support we always demonstrate on this question.

(Mr. Serrano, Spain)

Nevertheless, the texts we have before us contain some language and formulations which are too categorical and which we therefore cannot endorse. In some cases they could be interpreted as being inconsistent with the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, while in others they do not take sufficiently into account the changes that have occurred, in southern Africa in particular.

Guided by the same spirit my delegation supported the draft resolution on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, despite the fact that some of the same objections could apply here. My delegation believes that every effort should be made to avoid pointless repetition in all such resolutions.

Mr. GUVEN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): In keeping with our policy of supporting efforts to dismantle apartheid we voted in favour of draft resolution A/45/L.16. However, that vote should not be interpreted to mean that we approve of everything in the resolution. I refer in particular to operative paragraphs 4 and 7, which are too categorical. For the record I wish to state our reservation on operative paragraph 9 of the resolution. We believe its wording is not satisfactory.

We voted also in favour of the draft resolution in paragraph 26 of document A/45/23 (part II). Despite our support for this draft resolution we believe that some of its paragraphs should have been drafted in a more subtle way in order to reflect the current spirit of co-operation and understanding within the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I call now on the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia, the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): As the General Assembly is about to conclude consideration of item 18, on the implementation of the Declaration, I wish, on behalf of my colleagues of the Special Committee, to thank all delegations for the valuable contribution they have once again made to the cause of decolonization.

Needless to say, we have listened attentively to the comments and suggestions that were made throughout the debate on decolonization this year. Those relevant comments and recommendations will be studied very carefully and we shall spare no effort to take them into account in charting our course of action for the future.

As I have already stated, the Special Committee will also endeavour to continue to take due consideration of the views expressed by t.e representatives of the remaining Territories at the two seminars that it organized earlier this year and in other relevant forums.

The adoption once again by the General Assembly of the resolutions on the implementation of the Declaration and the dissemination of information on decolonization is further proof of the importance the international community continues to attach to the remaining tasks.

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

Our mandate, as outlined by those resolutions, is to ascertain that the peoples of all the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are given the opportunity to determine freely their future political status, and that the administering Powers fulfil their Charter responsibilities for political, economic and social development in those Territories.

In the course of the debate in the current session certain delegations have expressed the view that the process of decolonization has reached a stage at which there is no longer any need for the United Nations to devote as much energy and resources to this question. For the majority, including the members of the Special Committee of 24, however, the remaining tasks still merit the unstinted efforts of the international community. Indeed, this is also the expressed view of the peoples concerned.

During the two regional seminars held in Vanuatu and Barbados in connection with the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories were unequivocal and united on the question of self-determination. Despite the stage of their development or the different approaches they may wish to pursue to realize their right to self-determination, they were unanimous on the need to enhance the United Nations effort and the role of the Special Committee in the struggle for complete decolonization. They reaffirmed this common position without losing sight of the fact that an act of self-determination should involve a full range of options, as provided for in resolution 1541 (XV), and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. We are gratified that the views expressed by the overwhelming majority in the Assembly coincide with those of the peoples of the colonial Territories.

Among the observations made in the Fourth Committee this year and in this debate concerning the work of the Special Committee, concern has been voiced by

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman, Special Committee of 24)

some delegations about what they perceive to be outdated approaches to modern problems by both the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee. The truth is that colonialism itself is an anachronistic phenomenon.

What is needed to obviate the necessity of continuing to deal with this outdated question of colonialism, the Committee believes, is for us all to work towards the attainment of the objective of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, namely, that of abolishing the anachronistic system of colonial relations, and with it eliminating the issue from the Assembly's agenda, by the year 2000. Until then, not only flexibility of approach but also increased determination are required of all concerned.

As regards observations that our resolutions should reflect the realities obtaining in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, it should be noted that our recommendations are based on information available to the Committee. Despite the Committee's continued efforts over the last four years, it has not been possible to send visiting missions to the Territories within its purview. Its only source has thus been the limited information provided by some of the administering Powers under Article 73 e of the Charter and secondary sources. In order to ensure that resolutions more accurately reflect conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, it is of paramount importance not only that administering Powers provide the Secretary-General with adequate, up-to-date information on the Territories under their administration, as called for under the Charter, but also that they co-operate in receiving United Nations missions to the Territories.

The current situation notwithstanding, it may be noted that the Committee's recommendations have not only reflected the expressed wishes of the representatives of the Territories but have also included such concerns of our time as the dangers arising from the use of the Territories for drug-trafficking, money-laundering,

(Mr. Tadesse, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

dumping of toxic wastes and drift-net fishing, as well as abuse of natural resources, which also cause damage to the ecology and environment. As these relatively recent activities pose a threat to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee intends to continue to draw the attention of the administering Powers and the international community to these problems.

While the Special Committee has not underestimated the positive role that foreign economic activities may play in the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the Territories, it continues to emphasize the apprehension of the Territories over the dangers of some ruthless foreign economic interests that cause impediments to the decolonization process. On the other hand, the Special Committee has repeatedly called for economic development as an important catalyst in the self-determination process.

The world in which we live today is indeed undergoing tremendous changes. These events are the culmination of the desire expressed by the Governments and peoples of the world to see a new international order based on increased freedom, peace, justice and co-operation. At this juncture we cannot do less than maintain the momentum attained thus far in the exercise of the inalienable right of colonized peoples and bring the process of decolonization to its logical conclusion. Let us therefore take advantage of this fortunate momentum to sustain the consensus on a course of action that will best serve the interests of the peoples of the remaining dependent Territories.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

(The President)

I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. KADRAT (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): I do not wish to speak at length, but the representative of Vanuatu referred to the Gulf crisis and apparently he is not well informed regarding the basis and background of the situation there; nor are his remarks related to the problems of the region as a whole. What he said has nothing at all to do with the problem of decolonization, now before the Assembly.

Iraq has always advocated the settlement of international problems, including the problems of the Middle East, through dialogue and by other peaceful means. This would lead inevitably to peace and security in the region on a basis of justice and equality. Such problems should never be addressed with double standards, as is the case now.

(Mr. Kadrat, Iraq)

The international community must realize that the presence of half a million soliders in the region means nothing but the desire to wage war and leads to nothing but the undermining of Iraq's and the whole region's security. Moreover, there is the deliberate effort to deprive the Iraqi people of food and medicines, in violation of all humanitarian norms and values and in contravention of international covenants.

Iraq, as everyone knows, has put forward many peace initiatives, foremost among which was the initiative by our President on 12 August 1990 with a view to resolving justly all the problems of the region that have been kept in abeyance for years, and the initiative designed to make the whole region a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Ms. AL MULLA (Kuwait): The representative of Iraq raised two points. He chose to single out the representative of Vanuatu - but although my delegation also mentioned the aggression against and the occupation and annexation of Kuwait - and said that that subject has no relationship whatsoever to the subject-matter under consideration. I should like to address this first point.

The Iraqi aggression against Kuwait on 2 August and Iraq's occupation and annexation of a Member State of the United Nations is an action unprecedented in contemporary history. Iraq's aggression and its continued repressive practices run counter to the spirit and letter of everything for which this Organization stands, among which is the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The delegation of Iraq chose to vote for the resolution on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which we have just adopted. Its actions, on the other hand, are a stain on this resolution. Its actions against human beings, civilians, run counter to the resolution adopted this afternoon. There is the linkage.

(Ms. Al Mulla, Kuwait)

On the other point addressed by the representative of the Iraqi régime, which is outside the context of the subject we are discussing here - that is, the eradication of colonialism by the year 2000 - he speaks of the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means. That is what we are trying to ensure, through the adoption of resolutions that assist Non-Self-Governing Territories in their development towards that goal.

He speaks of initiatives that came after the aggression carried out in the early dawn of 2 August. These are the peaceful ways of the Iraqi régime. The peaceful way of that régime is to use human beings as shields around its installations. That is the humanity, the peaceful means, of the Iraqi régime.

The humanity and the peaceful nature of the Iraqi régime are seen in its preventing the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) from getting into Kuwait to distribute medicine and preventing nationals of third countries from peacefully leaving Iraq and Kuwait. The humanity and peaceful means used by the Iraqi régime consist in trickling out the hostages distributed all over Kuwait and Iraq as if they were gifts that Iraq can present to their nations of origin. That is the peaceful solution that Iraq envisages.

Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu): It is a very sad and unfortunate truth that history often has a way of repeating itself. Thus very early in the decolonization process those that would have continued to assert ownership of other countries and peoples made two crucial mistakes. The first was to think that the population of an occupied Territory would for ever acquiesce in its occupation. The second, and perhaps the most fatal, was to think that they could come to international forums and attempt publicly to defend the indefensible and distort and misrepresent history.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

In our statement this afternoon we did allude to the invasion, occupation and attempted annexation of Kuwait as bearing a striking resemblance to earlier forms of colonialism. We repeat that statement now, because we firmly believe that in our hearts, and there is ample evidence that the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples of the world believe likewise.

The representative of Iraq, a friendly country, a country with which we have never before had a quarrel, said that we do not understand the situation in Kuwait and that our statement had nothing to do with the subject of colonialism. It is one thing to be blind to injustice; it is another thing to be silent in the face of injustice that is very plain and visible for all to see. If we do not understand the situation in Kuwait, I am afraid that we share that lack of knowledge and understanding with just about every other member of the international community and, again, with the overwhelming majority of the people who inhabit this planet.

We would merely reiterate our view that selective morality is no morality at all, that principles selectively applied are no principles at all, and that this is as true on the subject of colonialism as it is on any other subject. It is our belief that the people of Kuwait are just as entitled to determine who they are and what they wish to be as are any other people. Therefore, it is our belief that, just as with the decolonization process in every other country, Kuwait is an independent country, and therefore the case for Kuwait is even stronger. We would suggest that the people of Kuwait be allowed to decide for themselves who they are and what they wish to be.

The PRESIDENT: I have to inform the Assembly that, by letters dated 12 and 15 November addressed to the President of the General Assembly and contained in documents A/45/723 and A/45/724, the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea has requested that Papua New Guinea be admitted to membership of the Special

(The President)

Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

In this connection, the President of the General Assembly is carrying out consultations with the Chairmen of regional groups. The President intends to resume consideration of agenda item 18 once these consultations regarding the appointment of a member to the Special Committee of 24 are completed.

We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 18.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.